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The English Wagner Book of 1594.

Edited with Introduction and Notes.

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von

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Studies in the English Faust Books.

Preface.

"Alterum alterius auxilio eget."

The subject matter of this thesis is not the splendid tragedy of Doctor Faustus which Shakespeare doubtless saw and admired, but, rather, a review of the material Marlowe used and the dross he left in the mould in fashioning his drama. Such, in general, is the « Stoff » I have aimed to sift and analyse in this dissertation.

Carlyle, struggling to bring order out of Cromwell's letters, wrote complainingly of the « mighty dust-mountain » which he had to level in order to reach the true gold. A similar task I have undertaken; for, no better term than « dust-mountain » can designate the numberless ballads, marionettes, and « penny dreadfuls » which were published under the name of « The Life and Death of Dr. Faustus » from A. D. 1630 to A. D. 1830. This scrap-heap has been barely touched upon in my notes.

I have chosen to spend most of my time and effort upon a description of the English Faust and Wagner Books which appeared between 1592 and 1858, in order to give a clear and comprehensive view of a subject that must continue to be of absorbing interest to scholars and laymen alike so long as literature endures.

The writer wishes to express his appreciation of Professor Logeman's careful reprint of the English Faust Book of 1592, and his interesting notes upon that text. It is a pleasure also to acknowledge the deep obligation the writer feels to the authorities of the British Museum and the Bodleian for the uniform courtesy and generous aid they have extended to him during his research work in those libraries. Finally, I wish to thank Professor Schick of Munich University, and Professor Phelps of Yale University, for their deep interest in my work, and the encouragement given me through such sympathy.

Alfred E. Richards.

I. The German Wagner Book (G.W.B.), 1593.

In order to obtain an exact knowledge of the « Second Report » or English Wagner Book (E. W. B.), it is worth while to note how it differs in form and content from its immediate predecessor, the English Faust Book of 1592 (E. F. B.). Hence the reader's attention is directed at the outset to the consideration of the time, place, and circumstances under which the English Wagner Book appeared.

After the German Faust Book had been reprinted a dozen times, (between the years 1587 and 1593), a certain Fridericus Schotus conceived the brilliant idea of bringing out a German Wagner Book, patterning it after the G. F. B., but adding many new features which he thought would appeal to the popular and perhaps more critical taste of his fellow countrymen. Two copies of this G. W. B. are in the royal library at Munich; and having examined both copies of the same issue, I give below an exact transcription of their title page.

«Ander theil D. Iohann Fausti Hi||storien/darin be-
schriben ist||*Christophori Wagens*||Fausti gewesenen Dis-
cipels auff||gerichteter Pact mit dem Teuffel so sich||genandt
Auerhan/vnnd jhm in eines Affen||gestalt erschienen/auch
seine Abenthewrli||che Zoten vnnd possen/ so er durch be-
förde||rung des Teuffels geübet/vnnd was||es mit jhm zu
letzt für ein||schrecklich ende ge||nommen.||Neben einer feinen
Beschreibung||der Newen Inseln/was für Leute darinn||

wohnen/was für fruchte darinn wachsen/||was sie für Religion
vnnnd Götzendienst ha-||ben/vnnnd wie sie von den Spaniern
einge-||nommen werden / Alles aus seinen verlasse-||nen
schrifften genommen/vnd weil es||gar kurtzweilig zu lesen/
in||druck verfertigt. ||Durch Fridericum Schotum||Tolet: Jetzt
zu P.||1593» ¹⁾-

Then follows: «Vorrede an den günstigen Leser/
Friderici Scoti Tolet», which occupies 9½ leaves (or
19 pages ²⁾), and this precedes immediately the text of 297
unnumbered pages, with no index. Not the least interesting
matter in this book is that found on the last three pages,
reading as follows.

«Diese Geschicht hab ich also der gantzen Christenheit
zu gut/vnnnd sonderlichen Teutschen Landen/darinnen viel
Zauberische vnd andere Aberglaubische Sünden im schwang
gehen/ausz der Spanischen Sprach in die Teutsche ver-
dolmetschen wöllen/vnd es also gemacht/damit darinnen
nichts gefunden/welches erstlich GOTT vnd seinem Wort zu
wider/vnnnd der Römischen Kirchen zum Nachtheyl/auch
aller Jugent ein ärgernusz sein möcht/Darumb ich denn alle
Coniurationes vnd weisz/wie die Zaubereyen verrichtet
werden/wissentlich auszelassen/welche doch inn dem Spa-
nischen Exemplar so länger als vor 70 jahren getruckt/mit
ausdrücklichen worten/nit ohn ärgernusz gefunden werden/
welchs ich von einem Bruder Martino Sanct Benedicti Ordens
empfangen. Bitt derhalben/fleiszig/der Christliche Läser
wölle meine Mühe vnd Arbeyt nit verachten/Vnd da ich in
transzferiren nit wol Teutsch geredt hett/mir zu gut halten/

1) Thoms has copied this title wrongly. Cf. E. E. P. R. 2nd
ed. vol. III, p. 303.

2) Reichlin-Meldegg says "vom ersten bis zweiten Blatte"; and
Thoms remarks: "The preface occupies the first eleven pages." Both
scholars are in error.

vnnnd viel mehr die Meynung/warumb ichs gethan/bedencken/Nemlich/das ein jeder Mensch den Teuffel desto besser kennen lerne/vnd sich für jhm bey Tag vnd Nacht desto besser hüten vnd fürsehen möchte. Wen solches geschicht/will ich inn kurtz die Historien des Johan de Luna/welcher ein Magus vnd sehr guter Physosophus (sic!) gewesen/darinnen viel schönes und nützliches dings zufinden/auch gleicher gestalt ans Liecht bringen. Finis.»

Who the author, «Fridericus Schotus Tolet: Jetzt zu P.», can be is unknown. But it is probable that he was a German by the name of Friedrich Schott who *had studied at Toledo*, and was, at the time the book was written, in Paris or Prague. That he translated this G. W. B. from a Spanish original by a certain Benedictine named Brother Martin, is mere nonsense, of course: for, 70 years before the G. W. B. came out, there was no general knowledge of Faust even in Germany where Faust lived: and there would naturally be much less known about him in Spain. Again, the author betrays himself by frequently speaking of Germany as «our country».

The reader will notice that the author says he has tried not to say anything which would be offensive to the catholic church. This is a remark which finds no counterpart in the E. W. B.: but on the contrary quite jars with the English writer's theology as expressed in the E. W. B. chap. VI.

It would occupy too much space to outline the content of the whole book: but it seems necessary to get some idea of its subject-matter, so I venture to note the headings of all the chapters.

I. Anfang der Historien Christoff Wagners D. Johann Fausten Famuli oder diener/welcher auch nach seines Herren todt vnd absterben einen Geist durch hülff vnd kunst desselben bekommen/darinnen was jhm derselbige gedienet vnd

zuwegen bracht/auch was er mit jhm vorgehabt ordentlich zu befinden.

2. Wie Christoff Wagener nach abgang D. Faust einen Geist bekommen.

3. Wie Christoff Wagner seinen Geist Auerhan zum ersten mahl fordert vnd wie es jhme ergienge.

4. Wie D. Faustus seinen Diener in der Schwartzten kunst besser vnterrichtet/auff das er ein andermal desto sicher kunte procedieren.

5. Wie es Christoff Wagener nach seines Herren todt ergangen.

6. Wie Christoff Wagner sich durch verbotne vnd in der Christlichen Kirchen nicht zu gelassene mittel Kranckheiten zu heilen vnderstunde.

7. Wie Christoff Wagener seinen Geist Auerhan nach seines Herren D. Fausti tod zum ersten mal citiret/vnnd wie es im damit ergienge.

8. Wie Wagener seinen Geist Auerhan die Faust gabe/vnnd angelobet/das er des bösen Geists eigenthumlich in ewigkeit sein wolte/vnd was sich auch mehr zugetragen mit seiner verschreibung.

9. Vermahnung an den guetherzigen Leser/das sich niemand der Zauberey gebrauchen solle.

10. Der Geist Auerhan gibt dem Wagner Antwort auff seine verschreibung.

11. Christoff Wagener richtet zu Halberstadt ein wunderbare seltzame Abentheuwer zu /darab sich viel Gäste verwunderten.

12. Christoff¹⁾ Wagener fordert seinen Geist/vnnd hielt ein Gespräch mit ihm von der Höllen vnd den bösen Geistern.

13. Wie Christoff Wagner einem Juden zu Prag einen Papogay verkaufft /der Hebraisch vnd Griechisch gar wol reden kunde.

1) Chrinoff Q.

14. Christoff Wagener thät einen guten Trunck Wein zu Wien.

15. Wie Wagner auff der Thonaw fuehr mit seinen Gesellen.

16. Wie Christoff Wagner zu Wien Gasterey gehalten/ vnd von dannen nach Padua in Welschlandt gerayset.

17. Zu Padua in Welschland studiret Christoff Wagner ein halbes Jahr.

18. Gespräch Christoff Wagners mit seinem Geist von aller[hand] Sachen.

19. Ein Gespräch Christoff Wagners mit dem Geist Auerhan/vonn dem wahren Ort der Höllen.

20. Was Christoff Wagener zu Padua angerichtet hat.

21. Christoff Wagner hatt auf den folgenden Tag wider Gäst.

22. Wie Wagner zu Florentz ein Pferdt verkaufft.

23. Wie Christoff Wagner zu Padua profitierte / vnd lehrte die *Nigromantiam*.

24. Wie Johannes de Luna sich mit dem Christoff Wagener befreundet/vnnd mit jhm die Zauberey vnnd Schwartz Kunst sehr geübt.

25. Wie Christoff Wagener seinen Geist Auerhan zu jm beruefft hat-te/vnd was er mit jhm fürgehabt.

26. Also folgen nun die vier Elementa mit jren *diuinationibus*.

27. Was Johann de Luna zu Padua angerichtet.

28. Wie Christoff Wagener einen Edelmann wunderbarlich vexirte.

29. Wie es Christoff Wagnern zu Neaples ergangen.

30. Wie Wagners Aff Pomerantzen asz.

31. Wie Wagner nach Tolet in Hispanien gefahren/vnnd was Er allda gestiftet.

32. Christoff Wagner sucht bey einem andern führnämén Zauberer Rath vnd Hülff zum Aug.

33. Wie Christoff Wagner von seinem Geist Auerhan in Lappenland geführt wurd.

34. Christoff Wagener liesz einen Kopff zu Toletobarbiern.

35. Christoff Wagener bezahlt den Barbierer wider mit gleicher Müntz.

36. Wie Christoff Wagner mit seinem Geist vor ein Abredt gehalten.

37. Wie Christoff Wagener inn die new erfundene Welt fuhr/vnd was er darinn ausgerichtet.

38. Christoff Wagner fährt in ein ander Land darin er sich hat in Veneris Krieg gebrauchen lassen.

39. Von dieser Völcker gelägenheitt.

40. Christoff Wagener kompt in die Insul Canarie/oder *Insulae fortunatae* genennet.

41. Was Christoff Wagener ferner zu Toletoin Hispanien angerichtet hat.

42. Christoff Wagner sihet die bösen Geister in der Höll.

43. Christoff Wagener berückt einen kargen Spanier.

44. Von Christoff Wagners Testament vnd Todt.

Finis.“

The two copies of this 1593 G. W. B. which are in the Munich library are of the same issue, and differ only in respect to their binding. One has been bound up with a copy of the 1588 G. F. B. (Frankfort); and the other is a single volume by itself with vellum cover on which some church Latin is written (apparently a prayer), while the title of the book appears faintly written in abbreviated form on the back of this vellum binding. The edition contains 297 unnumbered pages, and has no index.

Let us now leave this work and turn to the proper subject of our consideration: the *English Wagner Book* (E. W. B.).

II. The English Wagner Books of 1594.

The first official notice of the English Wagner Book's existence is found in the Stationers' Register under the date of November 16. 1593.¹⁾

XVI to Novembris. [1593]

Cuthbert Burbye. Entred for his copie vnder th[e h]andes of both the wardens, *The seconde Reporte of Doctour John FFaustus with the ende of Wagners life vjd.*

This entry was made a year after the appearance of the English Faust Book of 1592, and just *six months and six days* later than the appearance of the German Wagner Book. Had Thoms noticed the closeness of the two dates, (i. e. G. W. B. date « 10. Mai 1593 », and the above entry of the E. W. B.), he would hardly have said off hand that the English Wagner Book is « like the First Part, of German origin, *being in a great measure derived from the Wagner Buch* » . . .²⁾ The two Wagner books are entirely independent of each other. The two Faust books (G. F. B. and E. F. B.) are somewhat distant from one another in point of date but closely related in content; while the two Wagner books (G. W. B. and E. W. B.) appeared within six months of each other, yet are quite distinct in their content.

But to return to the entry in the Stationers' Register. We read there that the stationer Cuthbert Burby brought out a book called « *The second Reporte of Doctour John Faustus with the ende of Wagners life* », and that the license was given to him Nov. 16. 1593. What is the title, the place of

1) Arber, "*A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*" II, 640.

2) "*Early English Prose Romances*", 2nd ed. 1858, page 303.

printing and sale, and the date, as they are given in the Wagner Book's title page, and quoted by the bibliographers? Every bibliographer and every catalogue of the E. F. B.s, (in quoting the work), refers to the copy in the Bodleian which bears this title page:¹⁾

*«The/Second Report/of Doctor John Faustus, contain-
ing his appearances, and the deedes/of Wagner./Written
by an English Gentleman/student in Wittenberg an Vniuersity
of Ger-/many in Saxony./Published For The Delight/of all
those which desire Nouelties by a frend/of the same Gent-
leman. [Then follows Abell Jeffes' device of an anchor with a
death's-head and an angel's]. London / Printed by Abell
Jeffes, for Cuthbert/Burby, and are to be sold at the middle
Shop at Saint/Mildreds Church by the Stockes. 1594.»*

So far everything seems clear enough. There is the entry in the Stationers' Register, a copy of «The Second Report» is still preserved for us in the Bodleiana, giving the date (1594) and the names of printer and publisher, and all these points have been duly noted in the Faust bibliographies.

With the intention of editing the «Second Report», I asked and obtained the privilege of copying in my own handwriting the above mentioned Faust text. Some months after completing this, however, it was necessary to verify one or two places in the copy, so I visited the Bodleian again and ordered, as I supposed, the book which I had previously used²⁾. What was my surprise, then, to receive a «Second

1) The press mark is *Douce M. M. 475*.

2) The press mark was "*Wood b. 20*", while that of the text I had just copied was "*Douce M. M. 475*": But these two press marks were on the catalogue slip bearing the book title *as it read in the latter text*: hence, when I gave the "*Douce M. M. 475*" mark on the order blank, the assistant brought me that text; and when I later on gave the other press-mark (by sheer accident), the "*Wood b. 20*" text was brought me. The two texts are now listed separately.

Report » text, (of 1594 date too), containing three pages of introductory matter which I had not previously copied. This fact led me to a closer examination of the text before me, which soon proved to me that the copy contained three pages of introductory matter which were not in the other text at all! Here, then, were *two* editions, (not issues), of the English Wagner Book, printed in the same year, by the same man, and for the same publisher, but with a differently worded title, and one of them possessing three unique pages of preliminary matter. I give a full description of the latter. The copy was once the property of Oxford's Anthony Wood, and is bound up with five other books of a similar character, (our text being No. 4), entitled as follows.

1. « Of Ghostes/and spirites walking/by night,/and of strange noyses, crackes, and sundry forewarnynges, whiche/ commonly happen before/the death of menne, great slaughters, & alterations/of kyng-domes./One Booke,/Written by Lewes Lana-/terus of Tigurine./And translated into Eng/lyshe by R. H. Printed at London by Henry Benneyman/for Richard Watkyns. 1572. »

2. « A/Discourse/of the subtile Practises/of Deuilles by Witches and/Sorcerers. By which men are/and haue bin greatly deluded: the/antiquitie of them: their di-/uers sorts and Names./With an Aunswere vnto diuers friuolous Rea-/sons which some doe make to prooue that/the Deuils did not make those Ape-/rations in any bodily shape./By G. Gifford. /Imprinted at London for/Toby Cooke. 1587. »

3. « A Trea-/tise Against/Witch craft/or/A Dialogue, wherein the greatest doubts/concerning that sinne, are briefly answered: a Sathanicall/operation in the Witchcraft of all times is truly prooued: the most precious preseruatiues against such euils are shewed: very needful to be known of all men, but chiefly of the Masters and Fathers of families.

that they may learn the best meanes to purge their houses of al vnclean spirits, and wisely to auoide the dreadfull impieties and greate daungers which come by such abhominations. / Herevnto is also added / a short discourse, containing the most certen meanes ordained of God, to discover, expell, and to/confound all the Sathanicall inuenti/ons of Witchcraft and/sorcerie./He that ouercometh shall inherite all things, and I will be his God and/he shall be my sonne: but the fearefull and vnbeleeuing, and the abho-/minable, and murtherers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and ido/laters, and all lyars shall haue their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death, Rev. 21. 7, 8 & 22. 14. 15./Cambridge./Printed by John Legatt Printer to/the Vniuersitie of Cambridge. 1590. »

4. « The/Second/Report/Of/Doctor John Faustus./Containing His apparan-/ces and the deeds of *Wagner*¹⁾. Imprinted at London by A b e l l J e f f e s for C. Burby, and/are to be sold at the middle shop at Saint Mildreds/Church in the Poultrie. 1594./ »

5. (With written title page). « The XI. Bookes/of the/Golden Asse: containing the/Metamorphosis of Lucius Apuleius, interlaced with sundrie pleasant/and delectable Tales: with an/excellent Narration of His/marriage of Cupid and/Psyches, set out in/fourth, fifth and/sixth bookes./Translated out of Latin into English by William Adlington./Lond. by Valentine Symmes. 1596./ »²⁾

6. « A Dialogue/concerning/Witches and/Witchcrafts./In which is layed open how craf-/tily the Deuill deceiueth not

1) Then follows Cuthbert Burby's device of the phoenix, with motto *Semper Eadem* above the bird's head, and *C. B.* below. (See photo. of title page in the appendix).

2) Further in writing: "The first edit. came out in 1566 — A third edit. in 1639".

onely the/Witches, but many other, and so lea-/deth them
awrie into manie/great errorrs./By George Giffard Minister
of Gods word in Maldon./London,/Printed by R. F. and
F. K. and are to be sold by Ar-/thur Johnson, at the signe of
the Flower-/de-luce and Crowne in Paules/church-yard./
1603. »

In examining this new Wagner text, it was necessary
first, to see whether it could be the book referred to in the
Stationers' Register. We remember that the entry was made
Nov. 16. 1593 in favor of « Cuthbert Burbye », and was en-
titled: « *The seconde Reporte of Doctour John FFaustus with
the ende of Wagners life* ».

This wording of the title page does not correspond
exactly with that of the text under discussion, but neither
does it agree literally with the title page of the other 1594
edition. As I did not find any clue to the priority of the text
question in this stationer's entry, a minute comparison of the
two texts was next in order. Let us look again at the title
pages.

The one, which I will call the D. text, (as it was given to
the library by Sir Francis Douce), bears the title:

« *THE/SECOND REPORT/of Doctor John Faustus,
contai-/ning his appearances, and the deedes/of Wagner./
Written by an English Gentleman/student in Wittenberg an
Vniuersity of Ger-/many in Saxony./Published For The Dc-
light/of all those which desire Nouelties by a frend/of the
same Gentleman./* [Abell Ieffes' device of anchor, death's-
head, and angel's such as seen in his pirated edition (1594)
of Kyd's Spanish Tragedy.¹] *London/Printed by Abell
Ieffes, for Cuthbert/Burby, and are to be sold at the middle
Shop at Saint/Mildreds Church by the Stockes. 1594.* » ..

1) J. Schick: „*Thomas Kyd's Spanish Tragedy*“. Berlin 1901,
p. XXIV and Tafel 3.

The other, which I designate as the *W.* text, (given to the library by Anthony Wood), has this title page:

«THE/SECOND/REPORT OF/Doctor John Faustus./
Containing His Apparan/*ces*, and the deeds of Wagner.
[Cuthbert Burby's device of phoenix with *Semper Eadem*
above, and *C. B.* beneath]. Imprinted at London by Abeil
Jeffes for C. Burby, and/*are to be sold at the middle shop*
at Saint Mildreds Church in the Poultrie. 1594.»

Just above the first word «THE» is a little ornamental strip, representing a sort of rosette on which stands a crown, and on either side a simple scroll design of flowers. This same bit of ornamentation is found in «The Trumpet of the Soul», etc. printed for the widow Perrin, 1593.

We see that the wording of the title is just the same in both editions as far as the word «*Wagner*»¹⁾: but there the *W.* text stops, while the *D.* text has six lines more pertaining to the authorship and purpose of the book. Does this signify anything?

As a general rule, Burby shows a preference for a short title page, while Jeffes likes to print a fairly long one²⁾, but there are exceptions enough in both cases to discount this criterion.

Next, the two devices. We can not get much from these, for the device in the *D* text is certainly Jeffes' (it is the same as in Kyd's «Spanish Tragedy», 1594, for example): and the device in the *W.* text title page is just as surely Burby's (see Nash's «Unfortunate Traveler» 1594). There is no mistaking the identification of either of these

1) The difference in spelling of the word "appearances" should be noticed, though it furnishes no criterion as to the priority of the text question, as both forms of the word were in use at that time.

2) Cf. Nashe's hint to Jeffes to "cut off that long-tayled title", (in *Pierce Penilesse*, 1592).

printers' devices. The only noticeable thing about them is, that though Burby's is printed just as clearly as Jeffes' (Burby's always is *clear* enough), Burby's device is printed a little out of the center of the page, which might mean overhaste and carelessness. So much for these « ear-marks ».

The last thing on this title page is the designation of the place and time of printing. The date, the printer's name, and the name of the publisher are (as before noted), the same in both editions. But where the *W.* text reads that the book was « to be sold at the middle shop at Saint Mildreds Church in the Poultrie », the *D.* text has it — « to be sold at the middle Shop at Saint Mildreds Church *by the Stockes* ». Now, from 1592 (the year Burby took up his freedom) to 1595, Burby's shop was designated as « at », or « by », or « under » St. Mildred's Church in the Poultrie», and from 1595 to 1607, his books were sold at his shop « at » or « neere the Royal Exchange. » Arber¹⁾ gives Burby's shop as being in 1594 « under St. Mildreds Church in the Poultry, by the Stockes »; but it is a singular thing, that among all the books Burby published, this « Second Report of Dr. Faustus » is the only one I have seen which designates his shop as « *by the Stockes* », and in the *W.* text of this same book, printed by Jeffes again, the shop is located in the usual way as « in the Poultrie. » The *W.* text and the *D.* text were sold at the same shop, without doubt: but it seems a little curious that the unusual wording « by the Stockes »²⁾ should occur this single time and never again.

1) Arber: "A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London". vol. V, 171.

2) The stocks stood upon the site of the present Mansion House and gave the name to the Stocks market which was there until the great fire in 1666. The Poultry connected Cheapside and Cornhill: and on the north side of it, at St. Mildreds Court, stood the church of St. Mildred the Virgin which was also, like the Stocks market, destroyed.

As far as the title page is concerned, then, either the *W.* text or the *D.* text could be the original one of the English Wagner Book. Let us turn over the title page of the *W.* text and examine the three pages of introductory matter which are peculiar to this Wood edition.

At the top of the first page of this preface stands a long, narrow, ornamental strip, with the Prince of Wales' arms in the center, surmounted by a crown. This crown is supported by two youths, the one holding in his disengaged hand an anchor, while the other bears a cup. At the extremities of the strip are two other boys, each kneeling and supporting the ends of the flower-scroll work.

Just below this bit of ornamentation begins the title of the preface, followed by the preface itself, which reads as follows:

TO THE READER.

I

Am not skillful in the vain that pleaseth/the
common eare, nor doe I studie to content anie one
further then he list: But if any man shall like what
is herein written,/as euey man I know (it is so
much against their bitter natures) neither will nor
can-/not assure themselues they shall please/theseselues more
then the other hurt me./For as manie as shall of pure gentle-
nesse like a matter, some/though of lesse iudgement, &
certainly of more curst dispositi-/on, will against their owne
consciencs prouoke themselues to/mislike it, for my part I
will accuse none of malecontenterie,/which shall vilely vse
this little booke in criticall tearmes, nor/excus my selfe of

by the fire of 1666. It was rebuilt, however, in 1676 by Sir Christopher Wren. The reader will remember that it was one of the rectors of this church whose "awful eye" fell upon Charles Lamb, "souring my incipient jest to the tristful severities of a funeral".

rashnes in obtruding such a matter vnto them,/knowinge their follie to be greater a great deale more than his/which gaue them this to worke vpon: Herein I promise nothing/too be excellent anywaie, for I cannot neither tye men to that/vaine, as to force them to commend (especially the necessitie/vrging this thinge: nor can I vrge anie poore pen to fitte their/humorous disposition. This is a Booke and so take it, and if you/take it otherwise you are to blame, & if you trie your worst, you/can term it but wast paper: And in deed so it is wast that is spent/on some men Here is wanting the great *Chaos* of *Similes*, which/build themselues ouer a Booke like *Colosses*: While I studie/to please euery one I please but *some*, and if none I shall please *some*¹⁾/if I had of set purpose intended this matter, I would perhaps haue/gone into some franticke humor, that though I could not proue/best, yet new til a letter²⁾ came. But I haue deliuered it to you from/them of whome I took it for truth. But if you could be as credulous/as *some* are newfangled, I know this might serue to be the recorded/of³⁾ *Faustus*: vnderstanding that those to whom I sent these thinges /written in scattered papers, would presse me, I thought in deede/it euen a fitte matter for men to bashful, and so I bid them let it/goe, and haue written this Epistle with mine owne handes, to be/put afore it. And I care not who treads vpon it: I am far enough/off, nor can I heare what is saide of it: and of me what they list,/my hurt is as little as alwaies comes of wordes. And you which/doe reade this same, that sith my familiars, but not such as they/call diuels, haue wrongfullie

1) We are reminded of Malvolio's words: "If it please the eye of one, it is with me as the very true sonnet is, 'Please one, and please all' (T. N. III, 4, 24ff.). In regard to the ballad "Please one etc." see Anders: "*Shakespeare's Books*". Berlin 1904.

2) Or have we to read *better*?

3) Catchword p. 1.

tirannized ouer my deedes beinge / absent, I praie thee remember that which is saide, *Speake of the dead nothing but good, of the absent nothing but truth.*¹⁾ Then I hope/I shall stoppe your mouthes, for I am sure you know nothing/vnlesse you maie descerne my vaine in this book, is nothing. For-/if euer you see anie of my broode come abroad againe, as I am de-/termined neuer, you shall easelie perceiue how far the stile shal/degenerate or in deede differ. The tongues of men which are de-/lighted to contempme, are as common as the stage, for they will hyre/themselues to be the fools of the standers by, onely to haue a lit-/tle *Laudo*, not knowing according to that of *Epictetes*: *Bee it farre/from thee to moue Laughter*²⁾: How vaine and fantastickall a thinge it/ is I goe not about to require pardon for my rashness, no, I seeke/nothing lesse, if you haue anie bitter wordes in your bellie, cast/it vppon this, I care not, but if anie shal saie it is a pretty matter,/I saie not so marie, I saie it is new & trew. Now vnto the Gentle/men which this translation chaunce vnto, I entreat them/to sitte downe and laugh at the rude phrase, which my iniurious/friendes would not so much as correct, and hardly scaped I with/out knowledge of my name, but that they hoped to make mee/notorious at some other time with a worse mater, which oportu-/nitie they looke for and shall still: vnto you I spake to whome if/anie thing were but reasonable, I would submit. But knowinge/ the great vnworthynes of it, as being but a bare translation of

1) This saying is of unknown authorship, but we find it thus expressed by Chilo: „*Τὸν τεθνηκότα μὴ κακολογεῖν*“. (De mortuis nil nisi bene). It also occurs in Demosthenes adv. Lept. p. 488: *μὴ λέγειν κακῶς τὸν τεθνεῶτα*, and Cicero says: „bona fama possessio defunctorum“.

2) See Epictetus, *Ἐγχειρίδιον* κεφ. 33:

„*Ἀπέστω δὲ καὶ τὸ γέλωτα κινεῖν ὀλισθηρὸς γὰρ ὁ τρόπος εἰς ἰδιωτισμὸν καὶ ἅμα ἱκανὸς τὴν αἰδῶ τὴν πρὸς σὲ τῶν πλησίων ἀμείναι.*

as/bare mater of the gests and actes of one F a u s t u s a great Magitian/I will bee bold to barre you from looking vpon it. This onely/hope I haue left, that I goe personate and yet I must thinke my/selfe iniured for how and if my maske shall fall from my face?/Wherefore I desire you to beare with me, but not with my frends/whom I wold not haue serued so for a good deale. Fare you well/.

From *Lyptzich in Saxony*, 5. *Calends of May*. 1590.

[The ornamental strip at the top of the next page is of a scroll pattern, with two birds, one at each end, facing each other with outstretched necks. The same device is in « Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse » etc. 1596.] Then follows:

VNTO THE CHRISTIAN/Reader.

T Hese newes here raised out of auncient cop-/pies, a Gentleman a friend of ours transla-/ted for our priuate intelligence amongst/our selues, and sent them from Wittenberge / to Oxenford, in these words./*Misi ego vos*¹⁾ (*mei amici*) *Faustinas res, quas ego edocui linguam Anglicanam, / ingratum vereor opus: Accepi ego has Chartulas sparsim a studiosis Wittenbergensibus, quas ego hortatu / eorum & vestro quoque verbatim, aut saltem paraphrastice vobis / communicauit, obsecrans vos ut non solum ista triuialia negotia, a / mico saltem ore auspice- mini, sed vt apud vos in tenebris conqui[c]scere / permittetis.*²⁾ *Habui ego magnos, in phantasia mea, tumultus chy-/mericos, quibus cum exonerauero cerebrum, aut conticescam peni-/tus aut maiora conamina obiter attentabo*²⁾. *Valete.* 10. *Callend.* / Jul. 1589./

1) Read, *vobis*.

2) Read, *permittatis*.

The truth is, that these are commonly carried about for very/certainty, yea and some are secretly laide vp in gratie mens studyes/for great reliques. For the very confirming, you shall vnderstand/more certaine arguments in the next.

[Then follows a small ornamental bit of scroll work.]

The sum and substance of these pages is this. The contents of our text («these newes») were sent from Germany by an English student to his friends in Oxford. In an anonymous letter, dated 10 Cal. Jul. 1589, (place not given), he says that the facts he sends regarding Faust's life had been furnished him at various times by German students in Wittenberg.

In a second anonymous letter, dated at Leipsic, 5 Cal. May 1590, this same English student informs the reader that having heard of the intention of his Oxford friends to «presse» the material he had sent them, his natural modesty urged him to write this second anonymous epistle, to be printed and placed as a sort of «apologia» before all that he had previously sent from Germany to his Oxford friends.

So much for the author of this E. W. B.

The printers then tell the reader that the contents of the book had been translated from the German by a friend of theirs in Wittenberg, and sent from there to them in Oxford; and that the truth they embody is confirmed by that which follows on the next leaf of our text. Now let us see. The next leaf begins with the author's remarks about «the first book» and its failings. But if the writer sent the contents of this Wagner book (including of course this Introduction on pp. I—IV) to his Oxford friends in the year 1589, (see his Latin letter), how could he have known anything about «the first book's» miserable translation which did not appear until 1592?

Again, the printers tell the reader that «these newes» were sent to them from their friend in *Wittenberg*. What,

then, does the author mean when he says that he was at *Leipsic* when he received his information about Faust's life, and *not* in Wittenberg? « This did he affirme . . . to his familiarly beloued acquaintaunce, one of the which recounted it all summarily, in a letter from Wittenberg to me, where I was at Lyptzip, knowing that I intended to certifie my friendes in England of a matter so notable and straunge, etc.»

To sum up, the author contradicts himself in regard to the *time* when he wrote the text, and the printers contradict the author's statement concerning the *place* where he collected and sent forth his news about the great doctor Faust.

Let us return to the Leipsic letter once more. What can the writer mean by « Here is wanting the great *Chaos* of *Similes*, which build themselves ouer a Booke like *Colosses*? (p. 19, l. 11). »

In my opinion he is not referring in general terms to the euphuistic style of writing which was then in vogue, but to the first book (E. F. B. of 1592) in which one can find many similes of original character. It is a question, however, whether there are not just as many and as curious in this author's own book. Again, what is the significance of the lines « if I had of set purpose intended this matter, I would perhaps haue gone into some franticke humor, that though I could not proue best, yet new til a letter came? ». I must acknowledge these words are an enigma to me, unless they mean that the other edition, (*D.* text), which does *not* contain these words, was « new » until this edition (*W.* text) with its prefatory letter appeared. With these remarks upon the external and internal evidence afforded by these introductory pages regarding the priority of the *W.* and the *D.* texts, let us leave them for the time, and examine the general introduction contained in both texts.

The ornamental strip at the top of this first page of the Introduction is identical in design in the two editions, but

that in the *D.* text is somewhat the clearer of the two imprints. (See photograph No. III.) Then follow nine sections of introductory matter which are numbered in the *W.* text 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9: but in the *D.* text they run I, II, III, IIII, V, VI, VI, VII, IX. This, however, is not so interesting a difference as that which follows. The reader will notice that the title of this Introduction is « Vnto them which would know the trueth »; and he will also observe that this title is repeated at the top of each page, (page 4 excepted), in the text before us. Now, in the *D.* text, page II, the catchword is « If », and the first line that meets the eye upon turning this page II in the *D.* text, is the general heading (in italics) « Vnto them which would know the trueth », at the top of page III. Then follows section « VI ».

In the *W.* text, however, Section V comes to just about the middle of the page; and then as its last sentence we read *in italics* « Vnto the which would know the trueth! » Then follows orderly enough Section VI as in the *D.* text.

Here at last is the key to the riddle as to whether the *W.* text or the *D.* text is the original one of the E. W. B. Beyond the possibility of a doubt the *D.* text is the original. The printer of the *W.* text had the *D.* text before him: he finished copying section V in the *D.* text, turned the page, and instead of noticing the previous catchword « If » (the first word in section VI) he mechanically *copied into Section V in his own book the first sentence that met his eye at the top of the page in the D. text*, and that was « Vnto them which would know the trueth », (and that in italics too!).

This was Abell Jeffes' work; and it certainly is curious to see how, in copying from his own previously printed text, he should have misread his original and shown such gross carelessness in the copying. He did exactly the same thing in copying the Allde edition of the Spanish Tragedy, (as

Prof. Schick has clearly pointed out, and thereby demonstrated the priority of the Alde text), where Jeffes failed to print the proper catchword for his edition, substituting mechanically the «*custos*» he had before his eyes in the earlier Alde copy.

To consider again the mistake made in numbering the sections of the Introduction, we see that in the *W.* text, the numerals are in arabic characters, while in the *D.* text they are roman figures. Hence, it was an easy thing for the printer of the *W.* text to see the error of the *D.* text in having the sections *on the same* page run VI, VI, VII, and then over the page IX: so the printer of the *W.* text corrected the numbering to 6, 7, 8, 9.

The variants which confirm, or have anything pertinent to the proof of this text-priority question, will be noticed among the others in their proper place.

III. The later English Wagner Books.

We have first to state the fact that there was probably an edition of the E. W. B. brought out between 1670 and 1675 by the publisher William Whitwood. As a copy of this edition is not to be found, however, it is in order to describe the next edition, viz., that of 1680.

We may mention that an advertisement of this 1680 E. W. B. is found on the last page of the 1670 (?), 1680 (?) and 1682 E. F. B. reading thus:

« In the second Part is declared what became of Doctor *Faustus* after his death: how he was amongst the infernall Spirits, and how he vsed to appear again upon the earth, and what strange things he did. Also very wonderful Apparitions of the Infernal King and his Followers. Likewise the strange exploits of *Wagner* and his three Familiars, And are

to be sold by *Ralph Smith* at the *Bible* in the *Piazza* under the Royal Exchange in Cornhil. »

I now give the title of the 1680 E. W. B. as it reads in the British Museum copy.

« The second report, of Doctor/*JOHN/FAUSTUS./* Declaring how he was amongst the Infer-/nal Spirits, and how he used to appear again upon the Earth, and / what strange things he did: Also very wonderful apparitions of/ the Infernal King and his followers. And likewise strange Ex-/ploits of Wagner and his three familiars. [A cut representing three learned men seated at a long table before which are two others, one man advancing toward the other with his hat in left hand and a diploma in the right which the other man kneels to receive. I take the cut to represent Faust receiving his degree at the university. This same cut appears several times among the ballads of the Roxburghe collection]. LONDON,/Printed for *Ralph Smith* at the Bible in the Piazza under the/Royal-Exchange in Cornhil. 1680. »

Before going further, I wish to have the reader notice that this title page reads exactly like the colophons in the 1670(?), 1680(?) and 1682 E. F. B. from the words «Declaring how» to the word «followers». But in the text sentence, this title page reads «*And likewise strange*» etc., while the two colophons have — «*Likewise the strange*» etc. Here, then, is another bit of evidence which would tend to show that the Whitwood and the Smith publications of the E. F. B. both came out before 1680: for the identical reading of these two texts — «*Likewise the strange*» — shows their interdependency, while the book which they both advertise in their colophons bears the printed date of 1680. Had either

text appeared *after* 1680, it would have been rather unusual for it to repeat the title of its second part, (the E. W. B.), according to its reading in the previous E. F. B. text, rather than in the latest E. W. B.

This E. W. B. text contains 64 unnumbered pages, and 28 chapters with roman numerals, except chapter 8 which has the arabic 8. The foliation reads

$A_2, A_3, —, B, B_2 B_3 —, C, C_2 —, —, —, D, D_2 D_3 —,$
 $E, E_2, E_3 —, F, F_2 G_3, —, G, G_2 G_3, —, H, H_2 H_3, —.$

On the fly-leaf is written in ink (probably by its former owner, Grenville,) « *S e c o n d* Part of/Dr. Faustus. 1680, extra rare, no other that I know of. »¹⁾ This edition of 1680 has no introduction in it at all.

Pickering's and Thoms' reprints of the 1680 text, (the former's in 1826, and the latter's in 1828 and 1858), have little value, as neither is trustworthy in its readings; so I will omit further comment on them here.

A German translation of the English Wagner Book is found in Scheible's « *Das Kloster* », 1847 Bd. 5, S. 522 and is entitled « *Der zweite Bericht von Dr. Johann Faustus; enthaltend seine Erscheinungen und die Thaten Wagners. (Nach der Ausgabe von 1594)* ». In a foot-note the translator states that he has followed the text in Thoms' reprint of the English Wagner Book, 1828.

The German translator gives us all the 28 chapters, nominally: but in reality he has left out quite a number of lines in various places (e. g. the end of chapter 3 which contains a sarcastic allusion to German wit), and at other times the author fails entirely to catch the meaning of his English original. The following lines will illustrate how much of a translation the German offers.

1) Mr. Alfred Huth also possesses a fine copy of this 1680 E. W. B.

(E. W. B. page 3: 19—31 inclusive.)

« O ihr Geister der Unterwelt, nur Spott ist es, mit dem ihr dem armen Faust oder seinem Diener vergeltet. Dabei rollten Thränen der Reue über seine Wangen. Um sich von diesen phantastischen Gesichtern zu erholen ging er hinaus auf die Gasse »¹⁾

The one and only remark upon his model text which the translator makes is where he comments upon Thoms' preliminary statement that the E. W. B. is chiefly derived from the 1593 G. W. B.²⁾ « Der Inhalt jener Schrift ist von der gegenwärtigen so ganz verschieden, dass diese Behauptung eine total unrichtige ist », says Reichlin-Meldegg, and with perfect truth.

VI. A few Remarks on the literary Position of the E. W. B.

In the introduction to his edition of the „Edda Lieder“, Dr. Ranisch speaks of the supposed author of the old Eddic songs, Saemund the Learned, as a man « dessen Wissen man damals Ungeheures zutraute und den die Sage zu einer Art Faust umgestaltet hatte ». This observation of Dr. Ranisch led me to consider the materials of the English Faust and Wagner Books in respect to the genuine romantic elements in them: and it is in this respect that the Wagner Book becomes supremely interesting to students of English literature.

In Mallet's « Introduction à l'histoire de Dannemarck », we are told that in the old Norse sagas we see « Dwarfs and Giants, Fairies and Demons, acting and directing all the

1) Scheible: „*Das Kloster*“ Bd. 5, S. 530.

2) Thoms, „*Early English Prose Romances*“. Vol. III, p. 303.

machinery ». Are not the personages of Faust and Wagner, the figure of Lucifer shaking his hair and stamping his foot, the forms of Neglectment, Millia, Hecate, — are not these demons, giants and fairies? The chapter in our text which treats of Faust's, « Tragedy as seen in the air » is patterned after certain biblical passages, to be sure ; but do we not also see a suggestion of « Gláðsheimr heitir », where

*«skioldum er salr þakidr,
brynium er of bekki stráat »:*

or, still more, Richard Wagner's « Vorstellung » of the rainbow bridge leading to Walhalla?

But besides this, our Wagner Book contains much multifarious lore, and translations and quotations from a variety of sources ; we note the presence of such writers as Epic-tetus, Vergil, Horace, and Quintilian : we also recognize lines from Ariosto, and we note the author's appreciation of English «sonnet building » (perhaps Spenser's particularly), while the dramatists Greene and Marlowe are certainly imitated by our author in respect to subject matter and style.

It may not be out of place at this point to call attention to certain passages in chapter 6 whose character reminds us of the material found in the old Moralities. A suggestion of such a similarity I find in this chapter where the struggle between the Body and the Soul is represented. As to our author's statement that the struggle was that « battaile which was fought for the greatt Realme of Asia », that is contradicted by his explanation of the passage a few lines further down the page. It is the writer's opinion that our author found the classical legends he refers to in Pausanias' « Description of Greece », bks. III, 18, 16 ; VI, 18, 12 ; and VIII, 29, 3.

I have sought in vain for the Latin verse quoted in the text immediately following the story of Hercules' wrestling

contest. The legend is indeed referred to by Pausanias, bk. IX, 27, 6, but it is not related as Hercules' thirteenth labor. Ausonius, in his poem «Monosticha de Aerumnis Herculis» (ed. Peiper), does not give these lines; but in the » Anthol. Planudea (XVI, 92, D.), we find the lines in the Greek text in brackets. I hardly think, however, that the author of the English Wagner Book was familiar with the works of either Ausonius or Planudes.

Continuing one step further in his confusion of the stories relating to Hercules, our author grafts on to the legend of Hercules strangling the serpent the much older story of the Faithful Dog. The former legend is found in neither Pausanias' «Description of Greece» nor in the «Golden Book of the seaven wise Masters of Rome». The latter is related in both Pausanias' work and in the «History of the Seven Wise Men.»

On the following page of our text, in this same chapter 6, we have a reference to a mysterious personage by the name of «S. Alathero», whose identity I have been unable to establish. The passage reads however as though taken from some *Exemplum*, such as those we find in the collections of Jacques de Vitry, Bromyard, and others of like character.

In chapter 11 we again have some fifteen lines whose source and «*raison d'être*» have puzzled the present writer. In a work entitled «Histoire de la Légende de Faust, par Ernest Faligan, Paris, 1887», the author has described the English Wagner Book as one which «*ressemble aux plus mauvais romans de chevalerie, dont il s'est manifestement inspiré*». While I do not agree with this opinion, I think M. Faligan is correct in indicating one characteristic element in the text before us which is illustrated by the passage mentioned above (chapter 11, lines 9 to 25 inclusive). It suggests very remotely a passage found in Book 1 of Sydney's

« Arcadia », a work with which our author would be apt to be familiar. The lines in our text are very obscure, however, and seem to have no connection either with what goes before or what follows them. In speaking of our author's description of the siege of Vienna and the unhappy experiences of « the great villain Turke », M. Faligan remarks that « Cette lutte sous les murs de Vienne, où le gentilhomme anglais donne un rôle prépondérant à Wagner et ses trois acolytes, forme évidemment dans l'esprit de l'auteur l'épisode principal de l'ouvrage. Mais il n'a pas su lui rattacher les autres parties du livre et il a par lui-même si peu de valeur, que nous ne l'aurions même pas mentionné si Goethe n'y eût certainement puisé l'idée d'un des épisodes de la seconde partie de son Faust, épisode qui ne compte pas, il est vrai, parmi les meilleurs. »

I cannot see any resemblance whatsoever between the content of the second part of Goethe's « Faust » and that of the English Wagner Book, however much I would like to do so. If M. Faligan is referring to the battle scene in the fourth act of the drama and believes that that scene was suggested to Goethe by the tournament episodes in the English Wagner Book, I think he is entirely in the wrong. The probability is that Goethe was not only unfamiliar with the English Wagner Book, but that he did not even know of its existence.

I am equally unable to find definite trace of any influence the Wagner Book may have had in England upon the literature of the Shakespearian or any subsequent period. The 1616 quarto of Marlowe's *Faustus*, for instance, shows no trace of such influence. As the sequel to the « English Faust Book of 1592 », however, I have endeavored to indicate the Wagner Book's importance in our English literature and its part in the bibliography of the English Faust Books. With regard to the latter, I may perhaps again point to the discovery of the *second* 1594 text of the

English Wagner Book, which has hitherto been overlooked by all other editors of the Faust and Wagner literature.

I close this Dissertation with the wish that the completed work may in some measure contribute to the fuller realization of the vigour and vitality of the marvellous legend which has been so much exalted by the genius of Marlowe and Goethe.

Works Consulted.

The following works have been used as chief sources of information regarding the English Faust- and Wagner-Books:

Logeman: The English Faust-Book of 1592. Gand, Amsterdam 1900.

Logeman: Faustus-Notes. Gand, Amsterdam 1900.

Ward: Old English Drama. Marlowe's Tragicall History of Dr. Faustus etc. Oxford 1901.

Thoms: Early English Prose Romances. London 1858.

v. Reichlin-Meldegg, Die deutschen Volksbücher von Johann Faust . . . und Christoph Wagner.

Tille: Die Faustsplitter in der Literatur des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts. Weimar und Berlin 1898—1904.

K. Engel: Zusammenstellung der Faustschriften vom 16. Jahrhundert bis Mitte 1844. Oldenburg 1844.

O. Franke: (Mountford's) Life and Death of Doctor Faustus. Heilbronn 1886.

Simrock: Faust, Das Volksbuch und das Puppenspiel. Frankfurt am Main 1877.

Breymann: Doctor Faustus. Heilbronn 1889.

Herford: The Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century. Cambridge 1886.

Kiesewetter: Faust in der Geschichte und Tradition. Als Anhang: Wagnersage und Wagnerbuch. Leipzig 1893.

Faligan: Histoire de la légende de Faust. Paris 1887.

The present edition of the English Wagner Book of 1594 forms about one-third of my work upon the English Faust and Wagner Books. The whole is to appear in « Literarhistorische Forschungen », published by Professor Schick of Munich, and Professor von Waldberg of Heidelberg, and will be presented according to the following plan.

- I. The English Wagner Book of 1594, Edited, with Introduction and Notes.
- II. A detailed description of the English Faust Book of 1592, comparing it with the German Faust Book of 1587, and summarizing the arguments for and against accepting 1592 as the date of the English « editio princeps ».
- III. A presentation in parallel columns of the texts of the German Faust Book, the English Faust Book, Marlowe's drama of Dr. Faustus, and the English ballad of Dr. Faustus. (The interrelation of the four texts is thus shown in a more complete form than heretofore.)
- IV. A critical review of Logeman's edition of the English Faust Book of 1592, with some further notes upon that text.
- V. 1) A description of the English Faust Book texts from 1592 to 1700, (including the complete texts of the 1664 rimed version and of the ballad as found in the Wood collection). 2) The chap-book form of the story in England. 3) The American editions of the chap-book. 4) The variants of the English Faust Book texts as found in the three earliest texts now existing (viz. 1608, 1618, and 1648).
- VI. Photographs of the two English Wagner Book title-pages.

Such is the complete plan of my work. It outlines the character of my studies during the years of 1901 to 1904 in the British Museum, the Bodleiana, the Royal Library of Munich, the Harvard University Library, and the Boston Public Library. As the greater part of that time was spent on the text of the English Wagner Book of 1594, it seems fitting to present first of all the results of my study along that line, which I hereby respectfully submit.

Vita.

I, Alfred Ernest Richards, was born at Hartford, Conn., America, March 11, 1874. I graduated from the Hartford Public High School in June 1894, and from Yale University, June 1898. I then pursued graduate study in English at Yale, and in 1900 received the degree of M. A. From 1900 to 1901, I was Instructor in English at the Gilbert High School, Winsted, Conn. In September, 1901, I matriculated at the University of Munich and studied English Literature and Language, German Literature, and the History of Latin Literature, under Professors Schick, Muncker, and v. Wölfflin, and in May 1904, I passed the examination for the degree of Ph. D.
